

HISTORY – SESSION 2

EARLY 18TH THROUGH 19TH CENTURY

PROF PASSET: Can you hear all right? Okay. Great. Good morning. (inaudible) I remember going into the class and making [announcements] ... I would make all kinds of surprising announcements at 8 am just to be sure they were awake but you all look nice and alert this morning.

...Today we're going to continue to talk of American history this time focusing on the 19th century. There is quite a bit of material and we will see how much I can cover in the next hour or so. Yesterday when I left off I was talking about Thomas Jefferson and remember we made the point about his interest in decentralised government and the nation of farmers. We were making that point [about] the whole equation of land ownership and citizenship. ...During his presidency which lasted from 1800 to 1808 Thomas Jefferson increasingly shifted away from that commitment to decentralised government and agrarianism and strict construction of the constitution and he came to be more in favor of nationalism and this trend will continue under his successors, Presidents Madison and Monroe. ...Americans in this time period I will be talking about today look westwards and of course you all know that with the look westwards there is going to be increasing conflict with native Americans who are already on that soil. So we will cover some of that material today.

The US went to war with Great Britain in 1812 and I am not really going into details about the war of 1812. Most of my students say...when I spend a lecture on it they are surprised because it is a war that gets very little coverage in American history courses in high school. But it was a war that we fought with Britain because Britain was engaged in war with France and we wanted to trade with both France and Britain equally without any interference and so Britain was interfering with our ability to trade and so therefore we were reasserting our independence by going to war with them and so sometimes it is referred to as the second war for independence. It is kind of asserting maturity.

After the war of 1812 there are a number of interesting developments in the United States and so the war itself had quite an impact. For one thing Americans started to manufacture more domestic goods and especially in the textile industry and one of the things that England was very cautious about was guarding its industrial secrets. They had factories and technology machines [and] textile machines and they would guard those and men who worked in those factories would sometimes try to memorise how the machines were constructed and then sneak those plans out of the country but, you know, it was guarded very carefully because Britain did not want competition for textiles.

But Samuel Slater was one man who successfully got the technology out. You know he has a very good mind. He got it out and to make a long story short the textile industry developed in New England and after the war of 1812 it just boomed and because the textile industry grew in the United States that put pressure on the need for more cotton and you all know where cotton came from. It came from the south and then of course the need for more cotton with the growing textile industry then put pressure on the need for more slaves and the need for more land. So therefore we've set up basically some of the ingredients that will lead our nation to civil war by 1816. So there [it] is, if you grow cotton you are going to have to expand westward and you are going to have to have the manpower and the womanpower in order to harvest the cotton.

One of the things that helped with the picking of the cotton or I mean the processing of the cotton was Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin. To remove the seeds from the cotton and so that also, you know, because you can process cotton more efficiently then, you know, that puts more demand for the fibre and makes it possible.

So many Americans are looking west. Congress is supportive of this idea of developing a national market economy. Before this time [today] I had an interesting conversation with [someone] last evening or maybe yesterday afternoon why we didn't have a market economy sooner ... a national market economy. Many people [such as] the small farmers [and] small merchants were distrustful of conducting business with anyone they could not see because if your currency is not consistent [or] if you don't have a national bank how do you know if you contract with someone, you know, a debt or credit with someone that they are going to for fill their obligation and even if they send you currency to pay for what they've purchased from you how do you know that it is going to be any good when you take it to the bank if you have no national bank... nothing behind it.

So what happened after the war of 1812 is factors change. We develop a transportation network that starts to link the country east to west as well as north to south. We see a strong currency and we see a national bank eventually developing. So all of this helps link the nation so, you know, we will see the spread ...over the course of the 19th century [a] kind of emergence of a mass culture that is made possible.

So after the war of 1812 there were a number of developments economically in the United States. A demand for goods fell in Europe and that contributed to a 6 year economic depression in the United States and the economic woes then contribute to political sectionalism and if you remember yesterday when I was talking about the regions and all the regional tension you can see that they're set-up to have political tensions as well because their political interests are going to be governed by their regional interests.

So when the south ... well the citizens in the southeast, the more industrial southeast, want protective tariffs because they are doing more manufacturing then the northeast and they want their goods to be able to be sold well in the United States without competition from goods that are being imported from Europe. The citizens then themselves are opposed to protected tariffs because they are more dependent on goods from Europe and they are trading more with Europe with their textiles, their cotton. And then of course the west is willing to support the higher tariffs because they want transportation improvement and they think that if they support tariffs the northeast will support the development of roads and canals and ultimately railroads.

Now at this point I would say my students probably their eyes would be glazing over because anytime we have a discussion on tariffs or anything like this it gets them, you know, they disconnect. But it is important to understand, in an abbreviated way at least, the developments that are putting pressure on the regions because what happens in 1820 [is] Missouri wants to become a state. Now if I had a map up here I could show you Missouri was part of the Louisiana purchase which when Thomas Jefferson became President he was able to buy large quantity of land that extended from Louisiana to Montana—many, many acres which more than doubled the size of the US.

So...there he is...extending the power of the presidency by making this agreement as well because I told you he was working more towards nationalism. But in that territory then there is the question of will the territories that become states be free or will they be slaves. You see the pressures here because the southern states want to expand and grow more cotton therefore they want to be able to take their slaves west with them. The northern states which are increasingly opposed to slavery don't want that expansion and they're concerned

about the balance of power and you see that reflected in the senate. You'll remember from the lecture yesterday about the number of senators and representatives and the industrial northeast has a larger population than the south.

So it is going to have more representation and therefore when a state like Missouri is looking for admission it wants to come in as a slave state. It is southern enough that the climate is good for growing cotton... But the problem is that if it comes in as a slave state that throws off the balance between the senate and ... in the senate and as well as representation in the house. So what happens is we come up with the Missouri compromise and, you know, in the 19th century we have [a] number of creative compromises. A southern senator named Henry Clay actually came up with this compromise and what it said was that Missouri would enter the union as a slave state but they would also bring Maine which was a north-eastern property land into the union as a free state. So they were going to balance it with an equal number of free and slaves that way.

They also said that they would draw a line at the 36/30 parallel and when you get your handouts you will be able to see that on the map. ...It is a line extending east and west and all the land above it was to be free and all the land south of it was to be slave but if you look at the map you will notice that Missouri is north of the line. So Missouri was going to be the only state that was free from that ... I mean slave north of that line but that was the compromise. So supposedly we've settled the issue of slavery for the time being.

Now next I want to talk briefly about the rise of Jack Sony [Andrew Jackson] and democracy. You know Andrew Jackson is a very controversial President in many ways. Generally when I talk about him my students will take ...an immediate reaction because they will look at him and they will immediately decide that they hate him because he was the President responsible for the Native Americans removal to the west and so they will not look at the whole picture of Andrew Jackson but not that I'm defending him either. It is just much more complex than just that one issue. But if we look at 1824 we will see that the regions are still very strong and there are four candidates for president and each region supports one.

So [we have] the south, the north, east and west and what happens is that splits the vote. Now the 4th candidate is Andrew Jackson who actually is coming from the west but he is a commoner, he is a war hero from the war of 1812 and you see a lot of our presidents come to power you know they become war heroes. ...He is an ordinary man, he's down to earth and he is a westerner. So while the other three men each get the support of their own region Andrew Jackson gets support from all the regions but of course there is no decisive victory here and this election Jackson wins the popular vote like we talked about in the more recent election yesterday. But he had to go into the House because he did not win the electoral college and so [he] went in the House and there they chose John Adams to be the President who was from New England.

John Adams turned out, you know, he is kind of a cool aloof man. Not a warm fuzzy kind of person and anyway Jackson accused Adams of a corrupt victory. You know the fact that Jackson actually pulled in the popular votes but Adams gets the election. Now this stimulates interest in the electorate and voting had not been widespread prior to this time. In 1824 the percent of Americans voting was 24% of those eligible to vote. So you know it wasn't widespread but after the 1824 election they started to reform voting requirements. You now eliminate some of the property requirements for voting. So it is still limited to white men but more white men are participating. ...To give you an idea how much participation in voting changed by 1840, 78% of the eligible people were voting. So it increased dramatically during this period.

Now Jackson because he lost the election in 1824 comes into power in 1828. You know he has a lot of public support. He is an interesting President because he uses his power to appoint people to office to reward them and they call it the spoil system. For example do you have any expertise in economics, Marlene? No. I'm going to make you the secretary of the treasury. Okay. You see the point is that he made appointments regardless of qualifications to reward friends and there is quite an interesting story behind all of that. He had quite a lot of parties in the White House you know and it was such a change from the previous administration which was much more formal.

He, as I mentioned, took aggressive action to remove Native Americans west of the Mississippi river in order to promote westward expansion and that of course is the tragic chapter in American history that it is known as the trail of tears and many native Americans died on the trail of tears because they did not have adequate food or shelter and it was a very difficult adjustment for them once they were moved west because they were separated from their homelands unfamiliar climate, unfamiliar crops, animals. The sense of religious connection to the land the idea that their ancestor's spirits still were behind where they used to live. You know all of this was a very traumatic experience for them and just as a side note there were some Native Americans ... there were several different removals. The trail of tears of course is the most famous but in the region where I live in southern Indiana there were a number of native Americans some of them with Cherokee background and what happened is instead of being removed they went and they hid in the hills of Kentucky where the Appalachian mountains are and they stayed there for decades and only in the 20th century did they start to reclaim their native American identity. What they did is they totally tried to blend in and their children many times did not even know that they had any Native American heritage because the families were trying to assimilate but I have a number of those students in my classes today and they are reclaiming their heritage and they have powwows on the campus...

Okay back to Jackson. He was willing to use force. When South Carolina decided it didn't like the tariffs and it decided it was going to nullify the tariff, the federal tariff, it was a contest between the President's authority and the states. And remember we talked about that federal and state tension and so of course what happened there is ... the nullification crisis and it passed but again because of compromise because Congress was willing to lower the tariff. He also opposed the national bank.

You see Jackson he is a contradictory person but he thought the national bank had too much power. So he decided to weaken it by calling back all the federal money. Taking the federal money out of the national bank and what happened is the bank decided to fight back. And so what it did [is] it called its loans in from the states from the state banks and you know [it] did a few other things and so what happened there is economic instability. You can see that. The people are suffering as a result of the contest here between Jackson, the bank and the states and so forth. What you see then is in the 19th century a series of economic depressions.

There is one that starts in the 1830's that actually last for about 5 years and as significant as the great depression of the 1930's [was], that was worldwide. So what is happening here as you are seeing the birth pains of the market revolution in the United States and the new forms of transportation are spreading. You see the construction of roads. They begin construction of a national road that is going to link east to west. They begin construction of canals. People go crazy over canal construction. States borrow great sums of money in order to fund the construction of canals to transport goods by water to market which is so much faster than hauling by horse and wagon over land.

The state of Indiana for example went bankrupt because it invested so much in canal construction and what happened is it took a long time to dig these canals and the railroad came and within a few short years the railroad was able to bypass all of the canals much faster much more efficiently and so the canal soon became a thing of the past. The south that emerges in these years leading up to 1840 was profoundly different than it had been earlier. The southerners did tend to perpetuate a romanticised image of themselves. You see that emerged in the literature of the period but in other ways too. In customs in ... there is that whole social ... the social order that the southerners had that just perpetuated a romanticised image but they were growing more and more dependent on slavery.

Even though the slave trade had been banned in the United States in 1808 and this is something that my students also grapple with is how is it that slavery continued to grow and flourish in the United States when the slave trade was banned in 1808 and of course it was ... it had been become, you know, it was being reproduced through slave women in the states and so it became more and more of an interstate slave trade rather than across the ocean slave trade.

Okay so we've got the regions growing increasingly connected. We see a spread of a ... starting to think of ourselves as the nation as a result of all these improvements and transportation and market and, you know, the periodicals in the newspapers are now circulating nationwide so that someone who is living in the western part can read what is happening in the eastern part and so forth and so that is a very important part in seeing yourselves as a nation rather than separate entities within. But this is a very difficult time of adjustment for people. You know anytime you move from your local economy to a national market economy there are a lot of transitions to be made.

There is a significant impact on the family [and] on the home because earlier all the manufacturing was craftsmen working in their homes and work because it occurred in the home the whole family was involved in work. What happened in the 1830's and beyond is that men increasingly started to leave their homes and work outside the home and that meant that the idea of the value of work went with the men because they were bringing the money back in to the home. ...I don't know if this happens in South Africa or not but sometimes in the United States, earlier not quite so much right now... but if you talk to a woman and you say what do you do and she is a housewife she would say I am just a housewife because there was no monetary value attached to the idea of being a housewife. And really the roots of this are in the origin of the market revolution when the paid work left the home because prior to that it all had been done in the home.

We see the whole idea of the workplace. Workers have to get used to having a standardized clock. Working by the clock. Having to obey rules. You know factories wanted everything to be efficient and so workers had to show up on time and they had to work so many hours and for agrarian people this is another transition.

We also see an increase in the immigrants who are coming to the United States. And so then there is that whole question of how do you assimilate all these different cultures. ...What is happening is the immigrants who are coming between 1820 and 1860 – many of them are Irish, many of them are German, many of them are Catholic and prior to this time while there was some religious adversity there was not as many Catholics and so you start to see ethnically distinct neighbourhoods in the rapidly growing urban areas and the ethnicity is often reinforced by Catholicism because they would organize around a parish. So the German Catholics and the Irish Catholics and all of them reinforcing their culture and in the case of the Germans, their language.

You also see the emergence of a middle class around the 1850's who start to point and say we have a middle class because prior to this time in American society there was the upper class and then there was the lower class and this in between was ill defined. They might refer to it as middling but not identified as the middle class. ...With the changes in the workplace you see the emergence of teachers, professionals and businessmen who identify themselves as middle class and they start to want a better life for their children and so they want to ensure that their children have a certain lifestyle. They are going to be supportive of education for their children. Women who are not working outside their homes are trying to understand their place in society and so they become very active in voluntary work and I will talk a little bit more about that. So there is a whole idea [of] an emergence of the middle class. Today if I ask my students what class they belong to I think that probably everyone in the room would say they are middle class. It is interesting how it permeates the culture now.

Okay I feel like I am jumping around just a bit but I wanted to say a few words about the living conditions in the south with this new cotton empires that has emerged. ...A plantation owner is going to earn in this time period between 8 and 10% income... percent profit a year, and so his slaves represent a major capital investment. ...We were talking yesterday about some of the stereo types of slavery that have been perpetuated by the Gone with the Wind movie and ,in general, the work of Eugene Genovese and the other scholars who have worked on the life of the actual slaves. ...In general [they have said] the housing and the clothing were adequate.

...Just to show you how complacent the north actually was in slavery, much of the clothing was manufactured in the northern textile factories. So you know if northerners truly oppose slavery they would not have been selling the textiles to the southern plantations owners. So you see this is all part of the market economy. The food was generally adequate and of course the slaves would be fed a lot of meat. You know especially field hands to make sure that they were going to be able to work well. The violent treatment did occur but it would be the exception rather than the rule. I am not saying it didn't happen I'm just saying that it was not a common occurrence, the extremely violent treatment of slaves that you see.

One thing that is very interesting is that during the 1930's during our great depression the government authorised the new deal programs and one of them sent out teachers and scholars and people who had worked as a journalists to interview all of the living slaves who were still living in the 1930's and of course they were very old. There is this whole issue of memory and how well do you remember something that happened as far back as 1860 but these interviews in case you are interested are available on the Internet through the Library of Congress Federal Slave Narratives.

So what is interesting about the collection of these narratives is that many of the interviewers were white and when they went to the slaves, you know, they asked them their questions and they got their narratives. There were a couple of occasions where the same slave was interviewed twice. Once by a black interviewer and once by a white interviewer and there is one in particular that it is quite revealing where they asked about how were the conditions [and] what was it like for you. To the white interviewer this woman said ...we were treated well and we had plenty to eat and the master was kind...and then when the black interviewer came it was an opposite story and so that's why it is difficult. The study of slavery is difficult because the slaves were forbidden to read and write. Literacy was denied them. Some did learn, you know, but it was all against the law. So therefore their words have been filtered so many times through white recorders and so the actual

experience we had to recover in a lot of different ways through archaeology and...filtering through all this testimony.

Okay there also were a free population ...of blacks in the south and they had been manumitted, given their freedom or earned their freedom in the 1700's but what happened in the 19th century is that it became increasingly difficult for the men in the south because the plantation owners especially the large plantation owners did not like the presence of free blacks. You know as an example to their slaves it might ...be too encouraging for their slaves to want to be free as well [if] they see these free blacks able to move about and so forth and farm and sell and make money and so what southerners did is they increasingly tightened the restrictions or conditions for living on the free blacks and made it less desirable for them to live there.

So there was a migration to some of the northern states you know. Another thing that happened is that Quakers ...would sometimes buy slaves in the south. ...The Quakers that were from the south would buy the slaves and then they would move to northern states and they would then free the slaves and that happened again in the case of southern Indiana. We had in our African American population many of them [that] came from the south with the Quakers and then stayed there and settled.

...So I am talking about a time period where there is a lot of adjustment going on. A lot of change, a lot of adjustments and so how do you react to change? You know people react in many different ways. So remember the great awakening we talked about yesterday. Well there is going to be another great awakening. Another religious revival because in times of change people turn to religion for comfort and so we saw that happen and again the spread of more religious denominations and with that an important factor is that there is an ethos of caring that is promoted from the second great awakening. The idea that you need to do things to help your brothers and sisters and this is very important because the 1830's and 40's are going to be seen as an era of tremendous reform activism in our country and a lot of this grows out of the ideas from the great awakening and this is called a moral reform movement.

...The values of moral reform permeate all of these efforts and what is happening is the reformers tend to be in that class of people who are going to be middle class and they are looking around and they are saying well I know that I must be living the right way and I need to make it possible for you to live the right way too. So therefore they organized to combat drinking. There are temperance societies. Temperance is, you know, opposed to drinking or wanting to moderate drinking and I don't know if you have ever heard this phrase before but have you heard anyone referred to as a teetotaler? You have. Okay. Do you know where that comes from? You probably think it is somebody who drinks tea maybe or I don't know. A teetotaler was someone who signed a temperance pledge. ...Women would go around with these pledges. ...I would send one around this room and I would try and get you to sign it [to abstain from alcohol] and they signed it with a capital T meaning they were totally going to abstain from alcohol. You might you might just abstain from hard liquor and still drink beer you know. That would be a different kind of abstinence, but anyway so there are more reformers.

Some of the campaigns... and these were all voluntary societies. Remember, I talked about the importance of volunteerism yesterday. They were looking at the treatment of criminals and the insane. They were looking in jails and they saw the inhumane conditions that people suffered ...especially the mentally ill. There was no understanding of mental illness. ...People would be chained to floors [and] left in their own excrement. It was very inhumane conditions and so many women went around and started inspecting and

agitating and fighting for a change there. They started Sunday schools for the instructions in the Bible because previously they had church but not Sunday school.

Educational reform contributing to public schooling. I mentioned temperance. Abolitionism or the anti slavery movement. I should start with that first became quite big. Now if we look at the 1820's we see the first...after the war of 1812 there is a growing recognition of slavery as an immoral institution and so at first people struggled. How do we deal with the issue of slavery in this country? And so there was an organization formed called the American Colonization Society. The American Colonization Society I think was formed in the 1820's [and] proposed returning the slaves to Africa.

Now of course this is a problematic solution if you look at it because by 1820 the slave trade had been banned in 1808. [At this time] many of the African American slaves had been born in the United States [and] had never lived in Africa. Where would they go in Africa—which country? ...If [you] look at the umbrella of the anti-slavery movement, the colonization movement... Then there are now the people who are on the other end of the spectrum who are the abolitionist. They want to abolish slavery. The radical abolitionist want to abolish slavery immediately and believe that if necessary they would use force to abolish slavery. Take arms slaves, whatever it takes to abolish slavery. That end of the spectrum was not so popular. ...Many people supported anti-slavery but abolitionists would often be tarred and feathered and, you know, their businesses destroyed because of the beliefs they had. So there is the abolitionist movement very strong during this period [of] anti-slavery.

Women's rights is another reform movement that developed in the 1840's and it is not until 1848 do women hold their first convention or meeting to talk about their lives. Their lives, their questioning of their rights, is inspired by the declaration of independence and Elizabeth Cathy Stanton takes the declaration of independence and she writes a declaration of sentiment for women modelled on the declaration of independence. Asserting women's rights as equal to men's rights and actually in 1848 calling for women to have the right to vote and you have to remember that socially and culturally this was so out of the range of women's perceived role that even the woman in attendance at the women's rights convention could not agree. They thought that calling for the right to vote was just too radical a cause at that point. So it would take as we talked yesterday until 1920 before women got the right to vote but still this was the beginning of that agitation.

Another thing that emerged during this period of adjustment in the 1830 and 40's is the working class began to identify some of its issues and it began to see itself as needing to unite because it was losing power as factories start to emerge. You see people going to work who become wage employees instead of self employed as they were when they worked from home and so when you are a wage employee you are working at, you know, you are at the beg and call of your employer. You are controlled by your employer. ...And they had very long workdays. It could be as long as 16 hours. There was no safety regulations. So there were a lot of concerns and what could workers do but they could organize. ...I know you are having the airline strike here in this country.

In the 1830 and 40's in the United States this was a novel idea for workers to band together and to strike and that is what they started doing during this time period. They started to form craft unions. Sometimes their strikes were violent. Sometimes the women workers who had gone to work in the textile mills also strike and again that is kind of a violation of what you expect a woman's role to be. So you see these kinds of tensions

and there are tensions between the skilled workers and the unskilled workers between the immigrants and the native born. So, you know, there is a lot of conflict there among the working class.

Now...if you are struggling to adjust to all these changes there are a number of ways you can respond. You can pour yourself into good works. You can pour yourself into protest or you can escape. You can withdraw from society and this is something that from the writing of Thomas Moore's Utopia forward you see the existence of Utopian societies in world history. And what happened...starting in the late 1830's when we had the panic of 1837 and the depression there were many people who felt the world was out of control and so they were going to look for solutions in Utopian societies.

Charles Foyot from France had an idea of an ideal society and this and I can't reconstruct it completely for you but his idea was that an ideal community would have something like 1244 people and it would have many brick layers and many teachers and many bankers and you know he had it all planned out exactly who would be part of the society. ...This idea spread in the United States and there were many of these Foyotist communities that retreated from society and tried to become self-sustaining.

Some of these Utopian communities were religious in origin. For example a little bit earlier [about] but the Shakers. Are you familiar with the Shakers as a religious group? No. You know the Quakers? That's right. The Shakers were an American born religion that, you know, I don't think I can do it justice but I can tell you the reason they got their name was because they believed in equality of men and woman. Let me just point out that many of the Utopian societies were struggling to give people their rights and to treat people equally and so often they were dealing with this whole issue of equality between men and women and a number of the Utopian societies eliminated the concept of marriage because they felt that marriage was an unequal institution that empowered a man and disempowered a woman and so they struggled with that whole relationship and some of the communities like the Shakers abolished sex all together and they had celibacy.

So you're going to say how did the Shakers ever survive because they had no children. What they did is they adopted children so they brought in orphans. There are still 8 or 9 Shakers still in existence in the United States and they are known for their distinctive architecture, their fine woodworking and their religious worship service which involved a lot of physical motion. If I demonstrate it to you... it would wake you up. ...They do a dance. The men and the woman danced separately. They might dance in circles. You know the women in the circle the men on the outside. And they were really committed to work and so their dancing would involve things like sweeping, sweeping away the dirt of sin and things like that, and then they would sing and the people would come from miles around and stand outside their churches and just look in the windows to see. Shakers – so they go with celibacy.

The United community is different and I don't want to lose you in all these groups but just to show you the examples of experimenting with this equality. In the United community—you are going to think it is very scandalous. It is the opposite of the Shakers and they believed that every man was married to every woman and every woman was married to every man. So you can basically get the idea. ...But the founder of this society lose[s] control of the people. He decided after a while that he would be the one who decided who was with who. And they also [were into] the concept of eugenics. Scientific breeding which actually was developing as a trend in the United States until shortly before Hitler came to power. Once Hitler came to power and...Americans became aware of the genocide in Europe in Germany...interest in eugenics went by the wayside by as early as the 1840[s] and 50's.

At the Oneida community they were trying to determine who should have children. [They] selected the parents so they would have the best children. ...[This is an] early look at eugenics in our country. ...People were trying to cope with all this change and they looked at a variety of schemes and I could go on. I could do a whole course on Utopian schemes ... societies I should say. Many of them are short lived. There are a few that lived longer. Usually those were religious Utopias ...had that religious foundation that ensured they lasted longer.

...I'm going to switch and talk about westward expansion and manifestation and this lovely picture [PowerPoint] would portray the open frontier and it would show wagon trains going west and it would show native Americans and it would show loggers and miners and African American cowboys and it would show...Hispanics and missionaries and Mormons. I mean it would show all this and the native Americans are going off on this (inaudible). This is (inaudible) progress in quotes and the Native Americans are going of the edge of the picture and then there is this white angel -- a female angel floating over the top of the whole scene and this kind of captures the essence of manifest destiny that Americans subscribe to in the 1840 and 50's. [They subscribed to] the idea that a hand [of] God ordained...them to advance westwards. [They thought] it was a God ordained thing that the west was there for Americans to take as sanctioned by God. So a manifest destiny.

It [this destiny] was reinforced by missionary groups. You know this whole idea that we need to go west and we need to civilize and Christianize. It was reinforced by politicians. It was reinforced by business. You know lots of encouragement for this idea of manifest destiny but the frontier as a concept was never an empty place. It was always a populated place. Remember the Spanish owned much of the southwest. The Native Americans who were there and then you know all of the different groups who lived in the southwest ... I mean in the whole west.

So obviously there is going to be a clash in the west between the Anglo Americans who think it is their right to go there looking for economic self betterment [and] the religious groups who were going west to...christianize and change people and [between] southerners who look to the west as a place where they can expand slavery. ...Remember, it expands cotton growth therefore expand slavery. Remember, it is an issue of climate because you can't expand cotton growing to the north. The climate north of 36/30 essentially is too cold and to short a growing season for cotton. You're going to have to expand westward [into] Texas and so forth.

So the consequences of this manifest destiny are that it leads to border disputes. It leads to sectional conflict. The border dispute we can go into at some other time but sectional conflict again looking at the regions of the United States. So remember I mentioned a long time ago the Missouri compromise and that tension over admitting Missouri. So again in the 1849 we have this issue of California and if you can picture California you know it is on the west coast and a very large state and California petitioned for statehood in 1849 and this was a time when the balance between slave and free state stood at 15 and 15 and so again it would break the balance if they had to admit California as a free state which is what it petitioned for.

Then as California is getting ready to come into the union there is that whole question of what is going to happen with Utah, what is going to happen with New Mexico, what is going to happen with these other territories that have not yet been carved into states. So again Henry Clay who is known as the great compromiser came up with a [the] Compromise of 1850 and with that compromise they would grant California status as a free state and they would admit Utah or allow Utah and New Mexico to decide for themselves. The

whole concept of popular sovereignty and I see the handouts are here. That's great. Great. So you can look back over some of what we've talked about and see the map which would be helpful. It is very small I know. Oh well that is better than nothing.

Okay so again it is a compromise. There's a decision to admit California as a free state and grant Utah and New Mexico sovereignty but along with any compromise you have other stipulations and one of them is they pass a strong fugitive slave act and the fugitive slave act of 1850 is what allows southerners to more aggressively pursue runaway slaves which gives me an opportunity to talk briefly about the underground railroads. ...Northerners who were involved in the anti-slavery movement were committed to aiding fugitive slaves. Some would go south and bring slaves out of the south. ...Harriet Tubman is very famous as a former slave who then returned to the south a number of times and brought her people out of slavery but what happened is Quakers and other anti-slavery supporters would set up their houses as havens for the fugitive slaves and they would be stationed from place to place and so the slaves could travel so many miles each day and then take shelter and this was a path for them to go to Canada because Canada ultimately was safe for them and in fact there is a black population of Canada [that] descended from slaves.

Just up the road from me just to give you an example is a stop on the underground railroad and one of the postcards maybe too had something to do with the Levi Cotton House and in this house Levi Cotton was a Quaker businessman [who] was committed to aiding slaves. He had over 3000 come through his house on their way to Canada. They had a wagon ...like a feed wagon and it was built up so that it had a fake bottom in it ...so that they could put 7 or 8 slaves very tight close together in this bottom and then cover the top with straw with bags of corn or whatever they were transmitting and they would take that from one place to the next. ...Then when they got to his home the slaves ... actually the fugitive slaves would sleep on the floor of the kitchen or in the basement or anywhere in the house unless they thought someone was coming and at that point they had all kinds of hiding places.

They used to have these big feather thick mattresses and so they put the children in between the mattresses and you couldn't tell that there was anyone in there. They had poles in the wall to go into the attic and they would open that little door [so] people could go in there. They could get 13 or 14 people in there at a time and then they would put furniture in front of it. ...This was going on in the 1840's, but the fugitive slave act of 1850 had much harsher punishment for anyone who was aiding a slave. So they could be fined, their property could be taken away and so forth but many of the anti-slavery supporters continued their work on the underground railroad despite that.

I want to say one other thing categorically. I had a great question from Marlene yesterday about how do you keep history alive for your students and I told her that one of the things I do is I try to get them in the shoes of the actors in history as much as possible. So in the case of slavery what I do in the fall is there is a living history museum that is about 75 miles away from us and I organize students and I take them over and they do what they call the North Star experience and it is done late at night. It is eight or nine o'clock at night. It is on a November night which for us is closing in on winter so it is cold. They do it in any kind of weather. It doesn't matter if it is raining or what and they walk you out into the middle of a field and they leave you and it is dark and then the next thing that happens is that the slave traders who own you—because immediately you are put in the shoes of a slave ... a fugitive slave. The slave traders who own you come and they start verbally abusing you and they don't hold back. I mean it is really very graphic and you know they force you to get down

on the ground and ...they give you stupid tasks to do like moving lumber from here to here and then back to here again and then back to here again [without] questioning. ...it [is supposed to be] psychologically conditioning you to feel as though a slave might have felt. Although you could never feel the same it at least is giving you a simulation. ...It is all scripted out but there is some kind of a distraction that happens and you are given the opportunity to run and you do but you have no idea where you are going.

You can imagine what it was like for the fugitive's slaves who had no concept of the geography. If you haven't been on the plantation where is it safe to go where do you go ...[on a] hundred acre farm. ...So there we were running and fortunately they would have people that we would run into and sometimes we never knew if those people were going to help us or hurt us and at one point, and they do this in groups of about 15, at one point ... we all thought going into this we are going to stick together. We are going to take care of each other we will get through this all together. At one point a fugitive slave hunter comes with a gun of course it is not a real gun but ...it look like one and takes one of the girls from our group. [He] holds the gun to her head and says I will let you all go if I can keep her and we look at each other and then we all take off and afterwards there is a debriefing and we are talking to ourselves [and asking ourselves] why did we do that?

...Is it because they have broken us down so that we were now looking out for ourselves and not caring about each other and after we left we heard a gunshot. That was to simulate what might have happened. Anyway it was just a tremendous experience and when I finished this, and many of my students reflect on this in a written paper afterwards, ...I could not look anyone in the eye for well over an hour after this experience. Because just in maybe an hour and a half or two you are so conditioned to trying to avoid being mistreated that you look down all the time. It is an amazing experience but that is how I help students understand [or] at least get some understanding of what it was like being a fugitive slave and it does bring history to life if you do things like that.

[At this time we have] the new railroad network which now is ... it is disconnecting north and south it is connecting east and west. Makes a difference in your alignment. The new immigrants are going to the north not to the south. The south is rural so the new immigrants are going north where the industries are which triggers southern concerns that the north is getting more and more power. Legislative power.

In 1852 Harriet Beecher Stowe rights a novel called Uncle Tom's Cabin, which I think virtually every school child in the United States reads at some point, and it is about slavery. It's about the evils of slavery and what is important. I made this point yesterday about popular culture but it's through a novel, [which] that is becoming [an] increasingly popular format. [It is] through a novel people are beginning to come to terms with slavery and it is reaching out and touching more and more people and creating more sentiment against slavery. The power of the press.

I mentioned the underground railroad. There are other conflicts over state whether they're going to be free or slave and I won't go into all of that. There is a famous supreme court discussion the Dred Scott decision where a slave owner takes a slave north into free territory and the slave decides he wants to sue for his freedom and of course they rule that just because he is taken to free territory he did not become free. You know just being on free soil did not make him free. So there are these kinds of things that are kindling again for a war and then of course there are men like John Brown who is a radical abolitionist who is involved in a number of militant causes one of which, you know, is a plan to arm slaves and have a mass insurrection. John Brown (inaudible) gets executed. He becomes a martyr to the cause of slavery.

All of this culminates in 1860 [when] Abraham Lincoln is elected President. All of the northern states vote for him but upon his election 7 southern states withdraw from the union and there are efforts to compromise but ultimately what happens is we end up going to war in 1861. The election was in the fall of 1860. We go to war in 1861 and once war is declared there is a second wave of succession and more states pulled out and so then the nation engages for 4 years in its bloodiest war in history. You know more people died in the Civil War than in any wars that we've fought since then or before then.

I won't go into the details of the Civil War because that would take forever but the outcome of the war as you know is that after ... it was not inevitable the north would win but ultimately they did and with that there was in the course of the war [when] Lincoln issues the emancipation proclamation in 1863 to say that certain slaves are free. This did not actually free all of the slaves but with the conclusion of the Civil War the nation is faced with a great task and that is how do you come back together again after you have been split apart so dramatically and the south has been devastated. ...Much of the war was fought on their ground.

Sherman's march to the sea. There was a general who was ravishing the south punishing them for slavery taking his troops through on a wide swath marching to the sea and so then of course you have all these freed slaves. You have the former members of the confederacy. You have states that are now not part of the union. You know the war is over. How are you going to put this all back together and as I tell my students it's not just saying okay we are one country again but it has to be reconstructed without slavery as an institution and this is a very challenging process and I think that, and this is my opinion, that I think our failure as a nation to deal adequately with reconstruction is the reason that racism has continued to be major problem. And you know racism persisted...up through the civil rights movement. ...[It was} a very difficult conditions for southern blacks in particular up through the civil rights movement and to this day but in different ways. But first I want to say that with slavery there was this brief window of opportunity with the end of slavery where slaves were taking new names.

They were legitimising marriages that had been prohibited to them before. They were getting education from the Freedmen Schools. They were being elected to serve in state legislatures. They were holding political office. They were taking responsibility. They were moving. There was some instance of land ownership but that is another issue. They were creating independent lives for themselves. Social institutions, churches, schools, volunteering organizations... but then what do you do? What are your options if you are a free slave living in the south? Who do you work for? Do you have land? You know this is the whole issue.

Millions of freed slaves of freed men and freed women had no land and that is one of the issues of reconstruction. If they had confiscated ... you know they had the power to confiscate some of the plantation landholdings and redistribute some of it to the freed men and freed women and there was some talk of that. You know this whole 40 acres and self sufficiency kind of plan but that was never affected. You know only in just a few tiny experiments but so there was no redistribution of land. Therefore many of the freed men and freed women had to turn around and become sharecroppers and work for their former masters. So in the system of sharecropping I am not sure if you... are you familiar with that? Sharecropping? Is the idea that I have nothing. I have no seeds, I have no equipment, I have nothing. All I have is my labor. You own the land. I'm going to work for you and you will provide everything I need to do the farming and at the end of the season we will divide up the profit and I will get a share and you will get a share. Now of course you will get a bigger share than I do but now that sounds like a plan, doesn't it?

What happens is that the former plantation owners loan [is] they extend a loan to the sharecroppers and because of that the sharecroppers become perpetually in debt because at the end what if the crops are no good? What if you have a drought? Oh well that is okay because I will carry your debt over to the next year. That means you are going to have to work for me another year aren't you and at the end of the next year you might have more debt and so you are going to have to work for me another year and I want to point this out because sharecropping became just an invasive system that through the depression of the 1930's the sharecroppers were significantly hurt. Even a colleague of mine at Bloomington, a young African American woman, grew up on the plantation in Mississippi where her family had been slaves because her family never got off that plantation because they had become sharecroppers. So you can see that structurally there could have been a plan for reconstruction that worked.

There were three different plans none of them worked. The last one was a military occupation of the south. Once the troops were withdrawn you saw the return of white supremacy I would say enacting black codes. The prevalence of a hate organization known as the Ku Klux Klan. I don't know if that is familiar to you here or not but they, through intimidation and lynching, would try to keep African Americans in their place. So it is very dark chapter in the history of the south and the nation as a whole. Now we will talk more about civil rights on Thursday but so I hate to leave that period in such a glum mood but you know that is the way it was.

Now I will take just a few minutes to cover a couple of things. Of course the late 19th century was a period of industrial growth for the United States. After the war the nation is turning around. It had the convergence of a number of factors that make industrial growth possible. We have natural resources that are abundant. We have entrepreneurs. We have men who have visions who are inventors and Andrew Carnegie comes to mind. ...Are you familiar with Andrew Carnegie? No. He became the richest man in America with the US Steel Company but there are a number of entrepreneurs like him who became known as either robber barons or captains of industry because depending on how you look at them they are either exploiting their workers in order to become fabulously rich or they are leading citizens of their country who are giving their money back to found libraries and schools and things like that. They do both but people tended to view them as one or the other.

Because of immigration to this country we have a massive pull of skilled workers. We have a good harvest. We have government policies that support industry and so all of this works together for a tremendous period of industrial growth in our country. In this period of industrial growth of course there are also dark chapters. One is the fact that there is no regulation of the work place and children, many children are working under the age of 12, working in coal mines working in places where small children can go that adults can't and in the factories with machines. If machines break down they would use small children to go in and make the repairs because their fingers were tiny and they could go in these small spaces and of course you can imagine the industrial accidents because there was no safety regulations. ...To condense all of that that lead to a growth in labor organizations in the late 19th century and I won't go into the specific labor organizations but there were a number of strikes some of which became quite violent. Then people would be killed in these strikes and so it was a period again of... adjustment. Workers trying to assert authority. ...Workers trying to assert their rights. Owners trying to assert authority and everyone is trying to advance.

Now the industrialists have to have a way to justify what they are doing and so they looked to the ideas of Herbert Spencer a British thinker and he had adopted the ideas of Charles Darwin to society and so he comes up with this concept of social Darwinism. The idea of survival of the fittest and so what they are saying there is that the industrialists obviously are the fittest because they have risen to the top and so they are trying to justify that and the idea that as people who had risen to the top they're going to then look out for the rest of society. Not everyone buys this argument but Andrew Carnegie who I mentioned just a little bit ago wrote a, I don't know if it is a book or a tract, called the Gospel of Wealth and what happened was him and some other philanthropists [or] some other industrialists is they actually struggled with this wealth that they have accumulated and they started to feel some guilt and also a sense of obligation. So he made it his goal to give away all of the money that he made from his industry by the time of his death. So that is industrialisation occurring in the late 19th century.

I want to say another word about the West. In 1890 a historian whose name was Frederick Jackson Turner published a very small work called "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." Turner's work which was published around the 1890's was a result of his realization that the frontier no longer existed for American society and the basis of that is when you take the census population there would be more than two people living every square mile and that is how they determined there was no longer a frontier.

Well what kind of impact does that have on a society when you no longer have a frontier because for Americans the whole idea was we can expand west to greater opportunity to greater freedom and Turner was writing about how democracy is recreated over and over and over again as civilization advances and meet the frontier. So he saw a moving frontier as a continuing renewal of American democracy and so this is also a turning point for Americans because once we realized we no longer have a frontier where do we look and this is when you are going to see the change in our isolationist view which was from most of the 19th century up until the 1890's. [At that time] we were not looking at world affairs. We were focused on what was happening on our [own land], our states, but after 1890 we start to realize we can't expand anymore. Where are our markets going to be? Where [are] our resources coming from? So in 1898 we embark on our first war that involves people other than our own and this is the Spanish American war which we can (inaudible) because the Cubans are trying to seek their independence from Spain.

This is a significant change for us because our policy for many years as John Quincy Adams who was President, second President, had warned against American entanglement in other affairs. He said that we should avoid entanglement in foreign relations because it would involve the US beyond the power of extrication in all wars of interest and intrigue. So he felt that once we got engaged in war outside of the US we would never stop and he cautioned that no matter how just the cause involvement would leave US policy to insensibly change from liberty to force and this is John Quincy Adams writing.

Now as those who study history will see President William McKinley, who was president during the Spanish American War, Theodore Roosevelt, who fought in the Spanish American War, and Woodrow Wilson, who was President during World War I, agreed that the time had come for the US to exercise international influence. So this is a significant change in our foreign policy but they disagreed in the reasons for doing so. There was disagreement there. Should the US become an imperial power or should it fight to eradicate colonialism? Should it promote stability and the status quo or should it promote democracy? Should it speak softly and carry a big stick or should it exercise moral diplomacy? These were issues that American presidents

and congress were starting to deal with at the turn of the 20th century. The very existence of this debate reflects just how far back US had veered from its traditional policy of non-entanglement which actually went back to George Washington and George Washington's idea [of] ...as a new nation we should not become entangled with world affairs because we needed to be strong ourselves first.

... There is a connection here to the closing of the frontier. To us looking abroad. There is a connection here to industrialisation and our need for world markets and raw materials and so therefore Americans start looking at the turn of the century to an overseas involvement that is both territorial and commercial and so on the eve of the new century as Americans start looking abroad we also have to [be] looking internally and see what was happening. And we see that there are great divisions in our country. There are rich and poor. I didn't get to talk about Jacob Reeds the photographer who took pictures of the poor in New York but there is a picture on the slide and you can talk more to me about that. We have farmers and factory workers who were unsure of their status. We have gender differences –changing roles, men and woman not certain of their relationships to each other. We have tensions between the native born to the United States and the immigrants. We have racial tensions. So here we are starting to look abroad and we also have all of these domestic issues.

There is a new generation of leaders who stand in the wings and they are fearful of the schisms but they are confident that they can bridge them. ...Theodore Roosevelt who was President at the turn of the century said ... to the leaders of the past, you and your generation have had your change. Now let us of this generation have ours. So that is another run through of American history for this period. Now I think we are scheduled for a break.

END OF SESSION 2